

Message Text

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ACTION SS-15

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5544
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EYES ONLY FOR SECRETARIES VANCE AND BROWN, UNDERSEC
NEWSOM, MR. BRZEZINSKI

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OVIP (MONDALE, WALTER F.)
SUBJECT: EAST-WEST CENTER SPEECH DRAFT

1. THE BALANCE OF THE PRESIDENT'S EAST-WEST CENTER
SPEECH FOLLOWS. APPRECIATE ANY COMMENTS OR SUGGESTIONS
ASAP.

2. BEGIN TEXT.

PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS

THERE IS A DEEPER DIMENSION TO OUR POLICY IN SOUTHEAST
ASIA WHICH ARISES OUT OF OUR NEED TO AFFIRM THE BASIC
VALUES FOR WHICH OUR NATION STANDS. AS PRESIDENT CARTER
SAID IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS, "BECAUSE WE ARE FREE,
WE CAN NEVER BE INDIFFERENT TO THE FATE OF FREEDOM
ELSEWHERE. OUR MORAL SENSE DICTATES A CLEAR-CUT
PREFERENCE FOR THOSE SOCIETIES WHICH SHARE WITH US
AN ABIDING RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS."

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3. IF OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS TO BE CREDIBLE AND
EFFECTIVE, IT MUST BE BASED ON THESE PRINCIPLES: THE
RIGHT TO LIVE WITHOUT FEAR OF CRUEL AND DEGRADING
TREATMENT; TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DECISIONS OF
GOVERNMENT; TO ACHIEVE SOCIAL JUSTICE; AND TO SEEK
PEACEFUL CHANGE. WE CAN TAKE JUSTIFIABLE PRIDE IN
OUR MILITARY STRENGTH AND OUR ECONOMIC PROWESS.

4. THE PROMOTION OF WIDER OBSERVANCE OF THESE VALUES IS A CENTRAL OBJECTIVE OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY. I AM ENCOURAGED TO NOTE THAT FREEDOM HOUSE REPORTS GENERAL IMPROVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS DURING THE PAST YEAR, AND ATTRIBUTES THIS IN PART TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S DETERMINED PURSUIT OF THIS OBJECTIVE.

5. IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, THERE IS NO MORE PROFOUND TEST OF OUR GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS THAN THE WAY IN WHICH WE DEAL WITH THE RAPIDLY INCREASING FLOW OF INDOCHINESE REFUGEES WHO DESERVE OUR ADMIRATION FOR THEIR COURAGE AND OUR SYMPATHY FOR THEIR PLIGHT. MY TRIP HAS CONVINCED ME THAT WE AND OTHERS HAVE UNDERESTIMATED THE MAGNITUDE OF THE REFUGEE PROBLEM. THE FLOW OF REFUGEES IS RAPIDLY INCREASING; HANOI'S APPARENT DECISION TO SQUEEZE THE MIDDLE CLASS IS PROVOKING THOUSANDS OF VIETNAMESE -- PARTICULARLY THOSE OF CHINESE EXTRACTION -- TO LEAVE. VIETNAM'S IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORS ARE HARD-PRESSED TO HANDLE THE GROWING NUMBERS OF "BOAT CASES." AND THE BURDEN OF COPING WITH THESE INCREASED NUMBERS FALLS DISPROPORTIONATELY UPON THAILAND.

6. NO SINGLE COUNTRY CAN RESPOND TO THIS PROBLEM
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ALONE. GIVEN OUR LEGACY OF INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM, WE BEAR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES, AND WE WILL NOT SHIRK THEM.

7. THE UNITED STATES MUST TAKE THE LEAD IN DEVELOPING A BROADER INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO HANDLE THE REFUGEE PROBLEM. I INFORMED SOUTHEAST ASIAN LEADERS THAT THE U.S. WILL EXERCISE PAROLE AUTHORITY TO ACCEPT AN ADDITIONAL 25,000 REFUGEES FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA ANNUALLY ON A CONTINUING BASIS. WE WILL EXPEDITE THE PROCESSING OF REFUGEES DESTINED FOR THE U.S. BY STATIONING ADDITIONAL IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE PERSONNEL IN BANGKOK. I EXTENDED TO THAI AUTHORITIES AN OFFER TO MAKE UP TO DOLS 2 MILLION AVAILABLE TO SUPPORT THEIR DEVELOPMENT OF LONGER-TERM PLANS FOR HANDLING THE INDOCHINESE REFUGEES. AND I MADE CLEAR THAT ONCE SUCH PLANS ARE DEVELOPED, THE U.S. WILL BE PREPARED TO OFFER MORE SUBSTANTIAL ASSISTANCE, IN CONCERT WITH OTHERS, TO FINANCE THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES IN THAILAND AND ELSEWHERE. IN SHORT, WE SHALL DO OUR PART TO FIND PERMANENT HOMES FOR THE REFUGEES; WE WILL URGE OTHERS TO DO THEIRS.

8.

GIVEN OUR BROADER CONCERNS ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS, WE
CANNOT BE INDIFFERENT TO THE ACTIONS OF GOVERNMENTS
TOWARD THEIR OWN CITIZENS -- PARTICULARLY THOSE
GOVERNMENTS WHICH SEEK OUR SUPPORT. SOME OF OUR
CRITICS SUGGEST THAT THE PRESERVATION OF SECURITY
AND THE PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ARE MUTUALLY
EXCLUSIVE OBJECTIVES. THEY ARE NOT. ONLY IN AN
ENVIRONMENT OF SECURITY CAN HUMAN RIGHTS GENUINELMX

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NEWSOM, MR. BRZEZINSKI

FLOURISH. YET, NO GOVERNMENT WHICH FAILS TO RESPOND
TO THE BASIC HUMAN NEEDS OF ITS PEOPLE OR WHICH CLOSES
OFF ALL CHANNELS OF DISSENT CAN ACHIEVE THAT SECURITY
WHICH IS DERIVED FROM THE CONSENT OF FREE CITIZENS.

9. THE SECURITY WE SEEK IS NOT AN END IN ITSELF, AND
IT CANNOT BE DIVORCED FROM THE QUEST FOR SOCIAL
AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE. THIS POSES FOR US A DIPLOMATIC
CHALLENGE OF EXTRAORDINARY COMPLEXITY. NO TASK IN OUR
FOREIGN POLICY REQUIRES GREATER SENSITIVITY, FOR WE
MUST PURSUE BOTH OUR INTERESTS AND OUR IDEALS; WE MUST
AVOID BOTH CYNICISM AND SENTIMENTALISM; WE
MUST SHUN BOTH CALLOUS INDIFFERENCE TO SUFFERING AND
ARROGANT INTRUSION INTO OTHERS' INTERNAL AFFAIRS. AND
IF WE ARE TO SUCCEED:

-- WE MUST CONCERN OURSELVES WITH ACHIEVING RESULTS
RATHER THAN CLAIMING CREDIT;

-- WE MUST COMBINE FRANKNESS IN OUR PRIVATE DIPLOMACY
WITH FOREBEARANCE IN OUR PUBLIC STATEMENTS;
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-- WE MUST REMEMBER THAT OUR EXAMPLE IS OUR MOST
POTENT WEAPON.

10. I AM CONTENT THAT WE CAN STRIKE THE RIGHT BALANCE.
DURING EACH OF THE STOPS ON MY TRIP, I WAS ABLE TO
SPEAK FRANKLY ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS WHILE ENHANCING
COOPERATION ON SECURITY AND OTHER MATTERS. I
BELIEVE I WAS SUCCESSFUL IN DEVELOPING RELATIONSHIPS
OF CONFIDENCE WITH THE LEADERS OF THESE NATIONS
WITHOUT FORFEITING THE OPPORTUNITY TO LISTEN
TO A WIDE VARIETY OF POLITICAL OPINIONS. ONLY TIME
WILL TELL WHETHER OUR EFFORTS WILL YIELD GENUINE AND
ENDURING RESULTS. BUT UNLESS WE ASSERT OUR BELIEFS,
WE CAN NEITHER EXPECT THE SUPPORT OF OUR OWN PEOPLE
NOR RESPOND TO THE YEARNINGS OF OTHERS.

11. AS ARCHIBALD MACLEISH ONCE WROTE, "THERE ARE
THOSE WHO WILL SAY THAT THE LIBERATION OF HUMANITY,
THE FREEDOM OF MAN AND MIND IS NOTHING BUT A DREAM.
THEY ARE RIGHT. IT IS. IT IS THE AMERICAN DREAM."
WE SHALL WORK TO ENCOURAGE ITS REALIZATION HERE AND
ABROAD.

12. CONCLUSION

THE PACIFIC BASIN, I AM CONVINCED, STANDS ON THE
THRESHOLD OF AN UNPRECEDENTED ERA OF CHANGE AND GROWTH.
THE FUTURE APPEARS TO PROMISE RAPID ECONOMIC ADVANCE
AND RELATIVE POLITICAL STABILITY, NATIONALISM
ACCOMPANIED BY REGIONAL COOPERATION, SECURITY WITHOUT
HUGE DEFENSE BUDGETS, EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENTAL
AUTHORITY COMBINED WITH A GROWING RESPECT FOR THE
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RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS. WHILE POSSIBLE, THIS FUTURE
IS NOT ASSURED. WHAT HAPPENS WILL LARGEMLY HINGE ON THE
WISDOM, VISION, AND DETERMINATION OF THE ASIAN-PACIFIC
COUNTRIES THEMSELVES. BUT OUR ROLE IS, NONETHELESS,
CRUCIAL. OUR CONTINUING POLITICAL, SECURITY AND
ECONOMIC INVOLVEMENT IS INDISPENSABLE. IT MUST

CONTINUE TO BE ADAPTED TO CHANGING FIT EMERGING REALITIES. IT IS NOT A BURDEN TO BE BORNE, BUT A CHALLENGE THAT WE WELCOME.

13. THIS THEN IS OUR AGENDA FOR THE PACIFIC:

- TO PRESERVE A STABLE EQUILIBRIUM OF POWER;
- TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS PEACEFULLY;
- TO FOSTER EQUITABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH;
- TO PROMOTE THE EXPANSION OF TRADE AND INVESTMENT;
- TO NURTURE REGIONAL COOPERATION;
- TO FURTHER THE LIBERTY, DIGNITY, AND WELL-BEING OF ALL PEOPLES IN THE REGION.

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